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ABSTRACT

As a result of the Bruno Richard Hauptmann trial in 1935, the American Bar Association enacted Canon 35 (amended in 1952 and 1963 to incorporate stricter standards) that recommended the banning of certain media coverage in the courtroom. Subsequent surveys conducted among the legal community in Oklahoma, Illinois, and Florida regarding Canon 35 have produced mixed reactions. In March 1978, a study examined the effects of controlled audiovisual coverage (with participants and spectators unaware of what was being recorded) of the second trial of a person convicted in 1973 for murder and rape. The study included tabulation and filing of all newspaper stories and pictures, evaluation of television coverage by four stations, interviews with trial participants, and a telephone survey of a random sample of lawyers and judges in Summit County (Ohio), where the trial took place. It was concluded that the news reporting was fairly straightforward; the televised coverage did not sway the surveyed lawyers in their attitudes toward media coverage of trials; the attorneys, presiding judge, and witnesses felt that the coverage had been fair and responsible; most respondents and participants approved of the manner of coverage; and attitudes toward the issue correlated with age, experience, knowledge of videotaping, and type of practice. (Tables are included and the Ohio rules governing media access are appended.) (MAI)

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TELEVISION IN THE COURTROOM: AN OHIO EXPERIMENT

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The conflict between the public's right to know and the right of an accused to a fair trial is well known. The controversy surrounding Canon 35 prohibiting cameras in the courtroom illustrates one significant aspect of this conflict.

On September 30, 1937, as a result of the sensational coverage of the trial of Bruno R. Hauptmann for the kidnap-slaying of the Lindbergh baby, Canon 35 was adopted by the American Bar Association. As originally worded, Canon 35 maintained that cameras in the courtroom "....are calculated to detract from the essential dignity of the proceedings, degrade the court, and create misconceptions...in the mind of the public and should not be permitted."[1]

This was amended on September 15, 1952 as a result of the Billy Sol Estes trial to include television cameras. The change also incorporated the contention that witnesses would be distracted in giving their testimony.[2]

Canon 35 was again revised in 1963 with the present wording deleting the phrases "are calculated to" and "degrade the court" from the original.[3] This was apparently in recognition of the fact that technological changes could make cameras in the courtroom unobtrusive but still maintaining that their psychological impact would still be negative. This summer the American Bar Association will consider a proposal

to recommend that states change their rules to allow broadcast coverage of court proceedings.

Do cameras in the courtroom in fact have a negative impact on participants of a trial and on the public? There are hardly any studies that show direct effects of broadcast and photographic coverage.[4]

A murder trial in the state of Ohio provided a good opportunity to test some of the assumptions of Canon 35 since TV coverage was allowed for the first time in this state. This paper is a report of some of the findings based on an analysis of media coverage of the trial and interviews with participants in the trial. A brief summary of existing studies will be presented to be followed by a report and analysis of our case study results.

What Have Earlier Studies Shown?

Most of the studies on Canon 35 consist of surveys of the legal community about their opinions on cameras in the courtroom. Most opinions on the broadcast or photographing of trials were not based on first-hand experience, however.

One study of editors, judges and social science experts showed that 97 percent of the judges and 72 percent of the legal experts felt that Canon 35 should be maintained, even strengthened. There were as many editors--97 percent--for revoking Canon 35 as there were judges for preserving it. The results are understandable in light of the fact the study

was conducted in the mid-fifties when television was relatively new.

With more experience with the medium, results of studies on reactions to Canon 35 seem mixed at best. In Oklahoma, a survey of 300 attorneys and thirty judges around the state showed that the more experienced lawyers and judges were with trial coverage, the more favorable they were toward it. For example, 58.2% of the lawyers who had had experience with live TV coverage were favorable toward it while only 36% of those without experience were in favor. Seventy-seven percent of judges experienced with live TV coverage favored granting some permission while only half of those without experience favored TV coverage. Similar results were found for courtroom still photography and motion picture photography.[6] This survey was taken subsequent to the appeal of a case where the accused felt that pictures taken by a TV reporter for later telecast were prejudicial to his interests.

The Oklahoma Criminal Court of Appeals maintained that broadcasting or photographing criminal trials should be determinedby the judges' discretion and that the assumptions on which Canon 35 were based seemed to be "fabricated out of sheer implication and not hammered out of the anvil of experience."[7]

A survey of county and circuit judges in Illinois found slightly different results. Eighty six percent of those judges surveyed said they would object to the taking of motion picture

film in their courtrooms. Eighty nine percent said they would not permit live radio or TV coverage of cases they were trying. Ninety five percent thought radio and TV equipment to be "physically distracting" while fully 100 percent considered these "psychologically distracting." Canon 35 was not legally in force at the time this survey was done.[8]

When the results for the Illinois survey were partialled out according to those who had prior experience with broadcast coverage and those who had not, the results were somewhat different. Seventy percent of those who had been exposed to broadcast coverage said they would allow coverage at least from the corridors outside their court. Forty percent of those with prior exposure also said they would allow live coverage of their trials.[9]

Last year, a murder trial of a 15-year-old boy in Florida received national attention partly because of the unique defense used by the defendant (who argued he was driven to commit the crime because of "television intoxication") and because of the fact that the trial was being televised.

The Florida experiment was by far the most far-reaching because the state Supreme Court said the cameras could actually be placed in the courtroom regardless of the desires of the prosecution and defense.[10]

It appears that reaction to this experiment was favorable[11] although there is no research evidence to document this. The participants "seemed unaffected by the presence of the camera

and there were no theatrics."[12] The judge in that case suggested that "the press and the court seemed to have found 'a common ground.'"[13]

In March of 1978, Ohio provided an excellent opportunity for researchers to look at perceptions of a trial in which broadcast coverage was allowed.

Brief Background

Timothy R. Papp was convicted in 1973 in Lorain County (northeastern Ohio) for the strangulation-murder and rape of a nine-year-old girl. On appeal, a federal judge ordered another trial because Papp was denied a lawyer during his initial questioning by sheriff's deputies.

The trial was moved to adjacent Summit County and became a history-making case in this state because presiding judge of the Common Pleas Court James Barbuto decided to allow broadcast coverage of the trial.

In March, 1958, the Ohio State Supreme Court had implemented Canon 35 for all courts of record in the state. Violations could invite prosecutions for contempt, the court warned. However, Barbuto, who had been assigned the case on a change of venue, ruled that it was proper for a broadcaster to tap into the videotape recording system and microphones in the control room outside the courtroom. He also permitted newspaper photographers and news film cameramen to take pictures of the TV monitors in the control room.

Barbuto's courtroom was a natural for the experiment. The courtroom had been remodeled three years earlier with the aid of a federal grant. At that time, it was the only circular courtroom in the country that was being regularly used for trials.

The court room has three television cameras: one behind the judge and fixed on the witness stand at all times, and two (one on either side of the room) which can tilt, pan, and zoom. There are microphones at each trial table, on the judge's bench, on the witness stand, and three other microphones are mounted on the ceiling.

The cameras and microphones are controlled from a console in a back room separate from the courtroom. For each of the three courtroom cameras, there are monitors on the console from which an operator can select one of the three pictures which is switched to the channel that feeds the videotape recorders.

This system was designed for videotaping trials so that if higher court judges were to listen to a case on appeal, they could watch the tape or selected portions of it rather than read a transcript.

Figure 1 About Here

One aspect about the televising of this trial was important: the trial participants and spectators did not know what was being recorded. The cameras did not have lights that indicated when they were operating, although occasionally a camera could

Figure 1

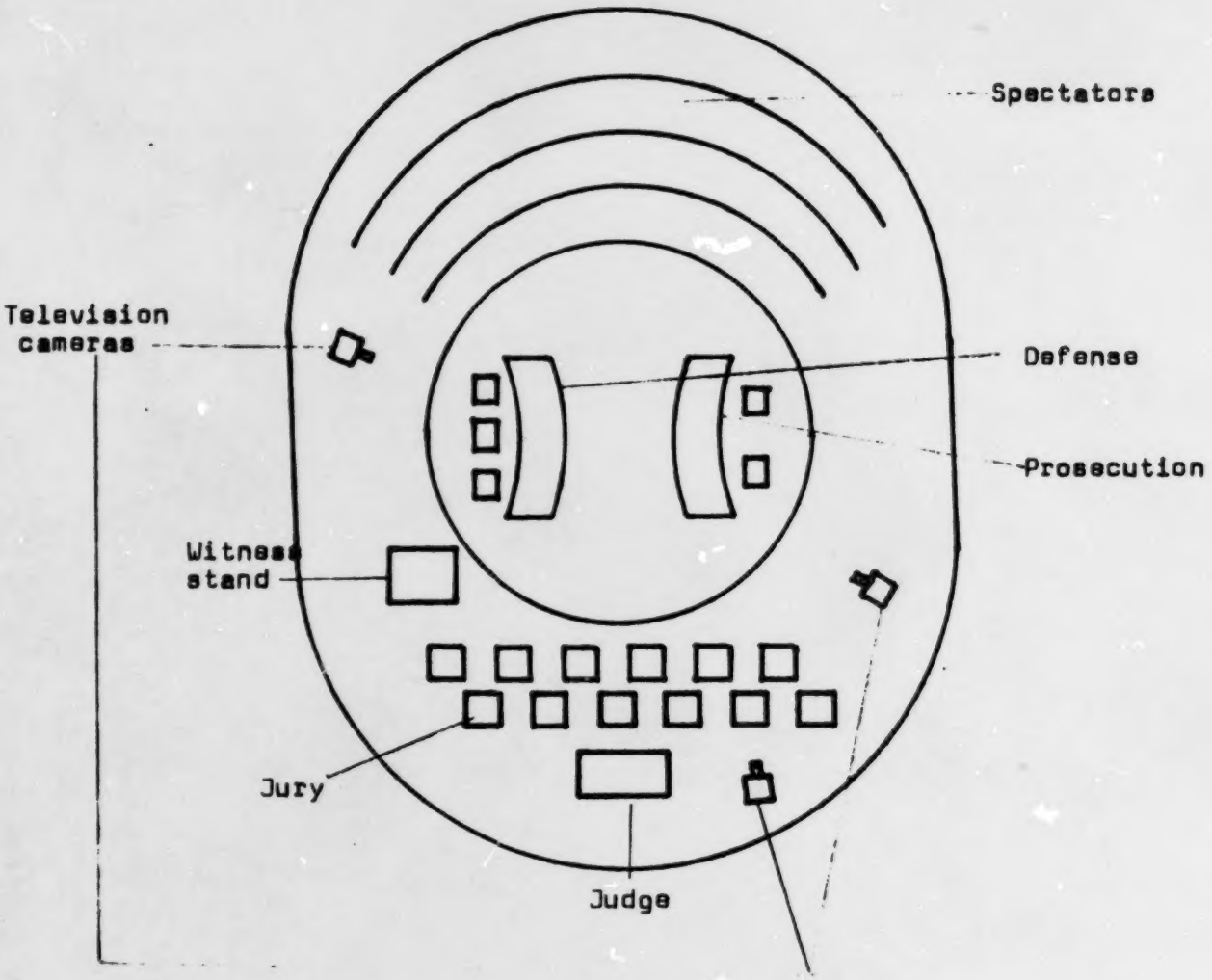

Diagram of Courtroom for Trial of Timothy Papp, vs. State of Ohio

be seen or slightly heard as it panned around the courtroom by remote control.[14]

Method and Results

There were four television stations (three from Cleveland and one from Akron) that covered the trial, four radio stations, and five newspapers which provided regular coverage of the case. To gather material for this study, the following steps were taken:

(1) All five newspapers' stories including pictures about the Papp trial were clipped and filed.

(2) TV coverage by the four TV stations was evaluated.[15]

(3) News Directors for the four TV stations and two radio stations were interviewed, as were the newspaper reporters who covered the trial for the five area newspapers.

(4) Participants in the trial were interviewed: these included the presiding judge, the two prosecuting attorneys, the two defense lawyers, and twelve witnesses.

(5) A survey of a random sample of lawyers and all the judges in the Summit County area was conducted.

Most of the interviews with the trial participants were done by telephone; a few were personal interviews. The survey conducted was a telephone survey.

Media Coverage. Allowing televised coverage of the Papp trial had one significant impact on newspaper coverage: whereas no photographs could be taken of a trial in progress in the past, for the Papp trial at least, newspapers were able to take advantage of pictures from the TV monitor.

For the ten-day trial, the number of pictures used ranged

from a low of 2 for two newspapers to a high of 11. The Lorain Journal ran the most number of pictures simply because of the interest in the case in its circulation area (the crime had been committed and the 1973 trial held in Lorain County). Most of the photographs taken off the monitor which were used by these newspapers were pictures of the participants in the case--witnesses, lawyers, the judge, the defendant--rather than "action shots." Reporters for all five papers were unanimous in their view that being able to run actual pictures of the trial was for them the biggest advantage in allowing televised coverage.

A common complaint among the reporters was the poor quality of the photographs. Although most of the subjects in the photographs were recognizable, most of the pictures were somewhat fuzzy. It was obvious, looking at the pictures in print, that they had been shot off of a TV monitor.

Table 1

Number and Length of TV Stories, By Station

Station	Number of Stories	Mean Length (Sec.)
Channel 3	6	58.0"
Channel 5	10	102.5"
Channel 8	4	62.4"
Channel 23	6	92.8"

The three Cleveland TV stations and one Akron station covered the trial to varying degrees. Table 1 summarizes the number and length of stories used, by TV station.[16]

Examination of the TV newsfilm clips showed much of the reporting to be fairly straightforward. A minor problem emerged in a comparison of the court transcript and the news tapes. Because of editing requirements, there was a problem of putting the story in context. Two reports (from different stations) showed a key witness being questioned by the prosecution; cross-examination by the defense was not presented which showed, according to the trial transcript, that there were a few problems with the accuracy of the witness' story. However, as pointed out earlier, these were few in comparison to the total number aired.

The four TV News Directors interviewed were unanimous in praise of the experiment and all were hopeful experiments such as this would lead to revoking of Canon 35.[17] Two of the four said they covered the trial primarily because of interest in the case in their viewing areas. The other two news editors said it was the newsworthiness of TV being allowed to cover the trial which was their primary motivation. All four agreed that being able to televise the trial for the first time made for more than average coverage. As one observed, "If I had not been permitted to tap into the court's equipment, the trial would not be on my station everyday."[18]

Participants' Perceptions of Televised Coverage. Sixteen trial participants were interviewed for this study the week after the trial was conducted. Interviewed were the presiding judge, the two defense lawyers, both prosecuting attorneys, and 12 witnesses (of the 28 called to testify). Taped interviews with the jurors were also available for the author's use.

Sixteen of the 17 people interviewed said the presence of the cameras did not bother them. The one witness who disagreed said she was nervous about being on television. However, she added that she forgot all about the cameras as soon as she was on the stand. "You can't even tell when they're on anyway," she added. Four of the witnesses interviewed pointed out that they were more nervous about testifying and responding to questions.

Another witness (not included in the 12 interviewed by the author) was quoted in a wire service report as saying that he was more nervous about his appearance in the current case than in the previous trial because he knew the cameras were present. However, the report went on to quote the witness as saying, "I'm glad they're putting it on TV. This way, other people can say he, Papp, had a fair trial. He can't say again that he was not treated fairly."[19]

Since it was James Barbuto's idea to televise the trial in the first place, it was not surprising that the presiding judge's views were very positive. "I think this strikes a happy balance between the public's right to know what's going

on and the constitutional guarantees for the defendant to a fair trial."[20] The judge indicated that he did not find anyone posing or acting for the cameras.

Asked if they felt the cameras detracted from the order in the courtroom, everyone interviewed responded negatively. One defense lawyer said, "The set-up is the best I've seen. I felt very comfortable in this courtroom and at no time was bothered by the presence of the cameras."[21]

Finally, the interviewees were asked if they had seen any of the television coverage of the trial. The judge, the defense and prosecution lawyers and five of the witnesses said they had seen "some portions of the coverage." The presiding judge was very positive toward the coverage, saying that the coverage was fair and accurate and that he did not think the defendant's rights had been abridged at all.

Both prosecuting attorneys also responded rather favorably to the coverage. One said the coverage was "extremely accurate and was very informative for the public." The second even went so far as to suggest that all criminal proceedings be televised. "The problem is that most of the lawyer-shows on television show the glamour of the defense side and how the defense always wins. Shows such as 'Perry Mason,' or 'Judd for the Defense,' or 'Petrocelli' show how some guy gets off. In real trials, however, the prosecution is successful 99 percent of the time. By televising actual trials, the public will get a better picture about how successful prosecution is."[22] He added that he thought there would be less crime if this occurs.

Both defense attorneys were more restrained in their appraisal of televised coverage. Both said that on the whole, televised coverage was fair. However, one of the lawyers said that unless a trial were shown in its entirety, "I can't see personally how excerpts of a trial will have any real public value. Only sensational pieces will be shown."[23] This view was shared by the second defense attorney who said the public always gets "a truncated view" of the trial which can distort their impressions of court proceedings.

Four areas of concern were raised by the lawyers in this case arising from televised coverage: first, there was some concern about any influence coverage might have on the jury's understanding of the case. "You just have to trust that jurors will heed the judge's admonitions in instances when they are not sequestered," one defense lawyer pointed out.[24]

Another concern on the part of the defense was that a change of venue may be less effective in instances where a case receives widespread publicity.

A third problem cited was the possibility that fewer witnesses may come forward to testify. The prosecuting attorney said this was not a problem in the Papp case although he said this was always a possibility.

Finally, the chief prosecutor suggested that it may be more difficult to keep witnesses from hearing other testimony (as is currently done to guard against the possibility of a witness altering his story) if coverage of the case was allowed.[25]

Both defense and prosecuting attorneys agreed that none of these areas of concern by themselves were of major significance and only the third problem--that of some witnesses in some witnesses being less willing to testify if they knew they were going to be televised-- was a direct result of having the court proceedings televised. The other problems cited could arise even with newspaper coverage alone, the attorneys agreed.

All four lawyers were also unanimous in their opinion that the nature of the courtroom set-up accounted for their favorable attitude toward having the proceedings broadcast. Both defense attorneys in fact stated that they would not be as favorably predisposed if cameramen and cameras were actually in the courtroom.

Survey Results. A random sample of 125 lawyers (about 10 percent of total) was drawn from the membership list of the Akron Bar Association. These lawyers, as well as all the judges in Summit County, were interviewed by telephone within a one-week period about 10 days after the Papp trial had ended. The phone interviews were conducted by graduate students in a Journalism graduate seminar.

The questions were designed to find out whether the respondents had seen any of the coverage, what they had thought of the coverage, their positions on the issue of cameras in the courtroom.

Three-fourths of the respondents had seen at least some

to most of the coverage of the case.Most of the respondents (93%) said they had used newspapers as a source of news for the trial. A little over half (55%) said they had used television and half said they used radio as a source (multiple answers were allowed on this question). Asked about their primary source of news about the trial, two-thirds said "newspapers," only 17% said "television," and only 7.2% said "radio."

Table 2

Evaluation of Fairness of Coverage, By Medium

	Radio		Television		Newspapers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Completely fair	12	16.7	7	13.5	16	19.0
Mostly fair	7	9.7	18	34.6	24	28.6
Somewhat fair	9	12.5	2	3.8	13	15.5
Not at all fair	0	0.0	2	3.8	3	3.6
Dont know	44	61.1	23	44.2	28	33.3

Table 2 summarizes the respondents' evaluations of the fairness of trial coverage, by medium. The large numbers who responded "don't know or no opinion" especially for radio is accounted for by the fact that few of the respondents had used this medium as a source about the trial. Almost half said coverage was mostly to completely fair from both newspapers and television.

Table 3 summarizes respondents' opinions on televised courtroom coverage before and after the Papp trial.

Table 3

Views on Canon 35 Prior to and After Trial

	N	%
Prior to Trial		
Cameras should be prohibited	51	60.7
Cameras should be allowed	25	29.7
No Opinion	8	9.6
After Trial		
Cameras should be prohibited	51	60.7
Cameras should be allowed	27	32.1
No Opinion	6	7.2

Only two respondents said their position on having cameras in the courtroom had changed from no opinion to agreement.

Respondents were asked how they would feel about televising a case in which they were either a judge or one of the lawyers. 41.3% said they were strongly opposed; 13.2% said they were mildly opposed; 14.9% indicated they were neither opposed nor in favor. Nineteen percent were mildly in favor while only 11.6% were strongly in favor of televising a trial they were involved in.

To find out whether age makes a difference in response to the previous question, response categories were collapsed and respondents grouped into those below and those above 40 years old.

Table 4

Opinions on Televised Coverage, By Age

	Lawyers Under 40		Lawyers Over 40	
	N	%	N	%
Opposed	25	46.3	41	61.2
Neither oppose nor favor	11	20.4	7	10.5
Favor	18	33.3	19	28.3

χ^2 = $p < .05$

Analysis of responses in the "neither oppose nor favor" category showed that a majority of respondents (10 of 11 in the younger-lawyer category and 5 of 7 in the older) qualified their responses by indicating they would not mind televised coverage if conditions were similar to the Papp trial (i.e., similar courtroom set-up with no TV cameras in the courtroom itself). Thus, assuming a similar arrangement as in this trial, over half of the younger lawyers and over a third of the older ones may favor broadcast coverage of a trial.

Number of years of experience was also examined as it

related to the respondent's position on cameras in the courtroom. It was found that lawyers with more than 12 years experience tended to favor Canon 35 (60% said cameras should be prohibited from the courtroom). Forty two percent of those with less than 12 years experience were for allowing cameras in court while only 28% of those in the more experienced group favored cameras in the courtroom. (χ^2 = p< .01).

We had speculated earlier that perhaps with increasing use of videotapes in court, the respondents' opinions may be affected. The results from Table 5 show that this is hardly the case:

Table 5

Position on Canon 35, By Experience with Videotapes

	W/ experience		No experience	
	N	%	N	%
Cameras prohibited	23	76.7	43	47.3
Cameras allowed	4	13.3	36	39.6
No Opinion	3	10.0	12	13.1

χ^2 = p < .01

Those respondents who had had experience with the use of videotapes in the courtroom were in fact opposed to having cameras in the courtroom (over three-fourths in this group were opposed).

Finally, we looked at respondents' opinions as they related to their type of practice. We found that those respondents who were actually doing courtroom work (the judges and the practicing lawyers) tended to reject cameras in the courtroom. Seven of eight judges and 60% of the practising lawyers said they were not in favor of cameras in the courtroom. On the other hand, those respondents who were not primarily engaged in courtroom work (corporate lawyers and those in the "other category," which included mostly law professors) had a more even balance of opinions. There were almost as many who favored cameras in court as there were who were not in favor among the corporate and "other" lawyers.

Discussion and Conclusions

The results of this case study have to be evaluated with some caution. There are obviously some limitations to this study which have to be kept in mind. First, the author was unable to attend the actual trial, which would have been beneficial to analysis of this case study. However, we were able to make use of the entire trial transcripts and audiotapes of the entire trial which helped to partially remedy this deficiency.

Second, we were unable to interview <u>all</u> the participants in the trial. Many of those who were not interviewed were witnesses, some of whom were from out-of-state and the rest who could not be reached for one reason or another.

Third, it is difficult to generalize results from one case study. However, this study does provide one important contribution to the question of cameras in the courtroom in that the study is based on actual experience with a televised trial.

With these in mind, the following conclusions may be derived from the results:

1. The televised coverage did not sway lawyers in our survey. Generally, those who were opposed to televising a trial remained opposed and those who supported the idea continued to support it after the trial.

2. Among the participants, the defense lawyers and the witnesses appear to have become more receptive to televised coverage after the trial. Both defense lawyers and almost all the witnesses admitted to some opposition to the idea prior to the trial but, with few reservations, all admitted that coverage had been fair and responsible on balance. The judge and prosecuting attorneys were very positive about televised coverage throughout.

3. Most respondents and trial participants who were either neutral or positive toward televised coverage often expressed the caveat that similar conditions be utilized in a trial, i.e., have no television equipment in the courtroom or have the cameras hidden or positioned unobtrusively.

4. Attitudes toward the issue appear to be correlated with such factors as age, years of experience, experience with videotapes in the courtroom and type of practice.

5. The issue of participants engaging in theatrics appears not to have been borne out in this case. All the participants interviewed pointed out that they either had forgotten the trial was being televised or were too engrossed in what they were doing to think about it. Independent observations (e.g., from reporters covering the case) corroborate these impressions.

One of the reasons why this case was a success as an experiment was that the judge was clearly in control of his court-

room. The rules governing broadcast coverage of the trial were clearly spelled out and strictly adhered to. (See appendix). The judge declared after the trial was over, "I'm very pleased with the response of all the news media in regard to accepting their responsibility to insure that both of these constitutional guarantees can live together with equal balance. And I think we have demonstrated this to those who are considering what action to take in regard to this sometimes impossible position."[26]

Appendix

Rules Governing Access by Radio and Television

The State of Ohio vs. Timothy Papp

This day, to-wit: The 15th day of March, A.D., 1978, it appearing to the Court that in order to balance the Defendant's consitutional right to a fair trial with the constitutional right of the news media to cover the public trial in the above-captioned matter, the following rules shall govern access by radio and television news reporters in this matter:

1. Reporters who desire to observe the trial from the courtroom, may, so long as there is space available.

2. Consonant with the Rules of Superintendence promulgated by the Supreme Court of Ohio, no camera, tape recorder, or microphone may be used within the courtroom.

3. Radio and television will be permitted to use the electronic audio and video coverage provided by the court from an area outside the courtroom.

4. The Court shall provide an area for electronic audit and video equipment. In no case shall the hallways be blocked by equipment, technicians, or reporters. The area outside the courtroom doors must remain a "quiet" area during courtroom proceedings. There shall be no interference with jurors, witnesses or court personnel.

5. Coverage provided the electronic media by the Court is being made available at the Court's discretion only, and permission for such coverage may be granted or withdrawn at any time at the discretion of the Court.

6. Only officers of the Court or the Judge's designated representative may operate the audio and video equipment of the Court.

7. The Judge shall appoint one media representativeto serve as a Coordinator among the news media to insure fair access to the electronic coverage of the trial by all who make such a request, insofar as such access is reasonable. The Court may also choose to designate a single news agency as a"pool" representative for all radio and television coverage.

8. There shall be no pictures used of individual jurors. However, using the Court's equipment, the jury panel as a whole may be photographed.

9. There shall be no use made of any courtroom conversation intended by the parties to be private. Court personnel operating the equipment shalltake every precaution to insure that micro-

phones at counsel's tables are turned off when not in use for statements being made on the record.

10. All media desiring to connect their equipment to the Court's equipment shall identify themselves to the bailiff or the media coordinator prior to obtaining a connection to the equipment.

Approved:

March 15, 1978

James Barbuto, Judge
Court of Common Pleas
Summit County, Ohio

Footnotes

1. Canon 35 of the American Bar Association Canons of Judicial Ethics. For an excellent review of Canon 35, see John M. Kittross and K. Harwood, Free and Fair: Courtroom Access and the Fairness Doctrine (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1970); Judith Murrill, Canon 35: A Summary. Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Freedom of Information Center Publication No. 77.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. See, for example, Sherman P. Lawton, "Who's Next? The Retreat of Canon 35," Journal of Broadcasting 2:4 (Fall, 1958), pp. 289-94; Gerald Cashman and M. Froke, "Canon 35 as Viewed by the Illinois Judiciary," Journal of Broadcasting, 2:4 (Fall, 1958), pp. 295-307.

5. Gilbert Geis, "The Press and Criminal Justice," Quill, May, 1957,

6. Lawton, op. cit.

7. Ibid., p. 293.

8. Cashman and Froke, op. cit., p. 304

9. Ibid.

10. T. A. Knopf, "Camera Coverage on Trial," Quill, November, 1977, pp. 21-23.

11. The New York Times, October ~~27~~ 7, 1977, 18:1

12. The New York Times, October ~~28~~ 8, 1977, 10:1

13. Ibid.

14. This according to trial participants interviewed.

15. This was made possible by film clips on the Papp trial made available to the University of Akron Law School Library by the local TV stations.

16. Analyzed were film clips used only during the 6 o'clock and 11 p.m. news programs. Clips used during the noon news programs of two stations were not included in the analysis.

Footnotes...

17. Telephone interviews with News Directors for Channels 8, 5, and 3, Cleveland, and Channel 23, Akron, March 30, 1978.

18. News Director, Channel 5.

19. Associated Press Wire Service Report, March 18, 1978.

20. Telephone interview with Judge James Barbuto, March 31, 1978.

21. Personal Interview with James Burge, Defense Counsel, March 30, 1978.

22. Telephone interview with Joseph Grunda, chief prosecutor, Lorain County, May 5, 1978.

23. Taped interview with Charles Adams, defense attorney, with WHLO News Director David Lieberth, March 25, 1978.

24. Personal interview with Burge.

25. Telephone interview with Grunda.

26. Quoted in "An Ohio Experiment: Television Coverage of the Timothy Papp Trial," by David Lieberth, Ohio State Bar Association, 51:20, May 15, 1978.